

INTEGRITY

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EDITORIAL



THE REPUGNANCE we have for communism is bound to result from a combination of our convictions as Christians and our attitudes conditioned within a capitalist, liberal tradition. If we have not detected a marked antagonism between our Christian heritage and these capitalist attitudes, then it is more than likely we shall endow our materialistic distrust of communism with a righteousness stolen from Christianity. If, for example, we are more angry about the communists stirring up the poor than we are about the condition of deprivation, then our anger is not religious but secular. If we fear that communism may interfere with business-as-usual and have not long since feared business-as-usual, then our fear is not a holy fear.

On the other hand, if our conditioning within the capitalist tradition has led us to despise this institution to the point of petish, then we are apt to connive with communism and falsely attribute to it sacred features proper to Christianity. If, for example, we prefer revolution to right order, then our preference is not Christian. If we make the word "authority" synonymous with "tyranny," then our thinking is not Catholic. If we believe that the proletariat will dictate a superior ethics to that of the bourgeoisie, our naivete is not the simple faith of Christians.

This month we present three articles by persons eminently qualified to define and explain marxism as seen from a Christian perspective, free (as it is humanly possible to be free) from reaction or conditioned prejudices. Christianity manufactures its own potential, it is never merely a reaction. Our sign is a cross, not a pendulum.

THE EDITORS

Do We Criticize Communism for the Right Reasons?*

Shortly after the war I was asked to give a public lecture on marxist communism in an industrial city in New York State. Certain business men thought the subject would be inopportune. "If you have nothing good to say about communism, lectures on this subject could only harm our commercial relations with Russia—relations which are more or less obligatory, for we have developed so great a capacity for production during the war that to avoid a crisis we must keep on expanding. Friendship with Russia and very free relations with the communists would solve all our problems. Can't you choose another subject?"

This was more or less the attitude of most business men at that time. They wanted to believe—spokesmen for the State Department and even some good Catholics were saying it—thanks to our zeal in supporting Russia, the communists were softening up little by little and would become more and more tolerant and tolerable.

I nevertheless gave my lecture to show that "the more changes the more it is the same thing," as a French saying has

We Criticize Actions Instead of Principles

It is hard to justify the indignation that some of our intellectuals, politicians and business men have acquired toward communism since that time. Today they find Stalin's realism displeasing but they themselves have been operating on the same basis of expediency. Many people, even certain Catholics, used to say that the so-called religious persecution in Russia was pure fascist calumny. But now they are astonished and horrified because communists do not keep their word, look out only for themselves, systematically lie, practice blackmail, calumniate, distort history and methodically and mercilessly liquidate the people who "generously" helped them get their popular democracies started. In fact the communists have destroyed that good faith which Cicero said was the very basis of society. But why should we be surprised? We are singularly naive, not to say culpably ignorant.

We make the error of thinking that the wicked conduct of the communists in particular instances is more serious than the general doctrine that the end justifies the means. I should like

* INTEGRITY is responsible for the translation of this material from several brochures written by Dr. De Koninck in French.

to criticize this attitude by an example taken from Saint Thomas. The act of fornication is an evil, but there is a greater one: it is to teach that fornication is everywhere and always a good. This is incomparably more serious since it erects evil into a universal principle. Now that is exactly what the communists have done. They do not stop at breaking promises, at crossing frontiers, and overturning governments which they have sworn to respect. They go farther, and we ought to have foreseen it long ago. In their fundamental writings and in their periodicals they teach that it is necessary to act precisely as they do. The true good, they say, cannot be attained in any other way. It is exactly as though someone taught that salvation could only be won by stealing, that to steal from your neighbor, if you can get away with it, is good, an act of true justice.

Unfortunately we ourselves have become pretty insensible to the fundamental difference between doing evil in a particular case and teaching that to do evil is always and everywhere good. We are not appalled, for instance, when things are written which implicitly or openly preach violent revolution, the overthrow of the established power and the abolition of the constitution by any means. We are not astonished at the doctrine that the end justifies no matter what means which can be got away with. We do not guard against it, blinded as we are by the fact that where the communists cannot use their means with impunity, they resign themselves for a time to obey and conform to what we call the natural law and to the customs of the society in which they live. Now it is often in these moments of apparent weakness and submission to the law that they exercise the most influence and prepare their decisive blows.

We ourselves are so used to making an absolute divorce between concrete action and general doctrine that we are surprised at those who are supremely logical in their conduct, and we are obtuse enough to be indignant. Yet for years, for decades, for a whole century, these same people shouted what they were going to do. The particularly vicious acts of the communists would look entirely different to us if we would only see that they are putting into practice their universal doctrine. They get away with the doctrine because it is an idea rather than an action. Besides, we do not take things in books too seriously. Generally speaking we do not foresee the consequences of doctrines which after all exist only in print. For instance, when we read that man has no free will we do not realize that this proposition automatically destroys all legal systems inasmuch as they presuppose that men

are responsible for their actions. It is a very dangerous weakness to believe, or act as though, no harmony were necessary between concrete conduct and the general principles which should rule our lives. The fact that we make an unnatural separation between principles and action, and that we judge things on the basis of the latter rather than the former, confuses us in a way that the communists exploit.

The Popular Idea of Communism

The popular idea is that communism is just a new variety of an ancient materialism. According to marxism true goods are material goods. It is owing to the insufficiency and privation of these goods that the illusion of so-called spiritual good arises. Men long to compensate for their misery, their poverty, the injustices of the present earthly life. This longing gives birth to the fable of a happiness beyond this world and to the phantom of a Supreme Judge and Law-maker whom the mighty of this world will not always be able to elude.

We should err if we were to underestimate the attraction to the masses of a doctrine giving so much importance to material goods and attributing all the evils here below to private property and the unequal distribution of wealth. According to the opinion of the wise of ancient times, as well as to some moderns also, the majority of men think happiness consists primarily in the abundance and enjoyment of material goods. The masses think that it is the rich who are happy.

And what precisely are these material goods which make a man truly happy? Opinions vary with the current situation of a man. But in general every man wants to enjoy security in the possession of his goods. Now under what conditions can the feeling of security be really assured? Shakespeare makes the witch in *Macbeth* say that "Security is mortals' chiefest enemy." It is thirst for security which incites the Macbeths to murder after murder. One more conspiracy, one final deal with professional assassins, and no one will remain to contest the inalienable dignity of their persons. But let us leave this nightmare to return to our modest citizen. If he looks for happiness in material goods alone, and if he wants to enjoy them in perfect security, can he still be spoken of as a "modest citizen"? Men who possess great material riches never have enough to enjoy a fully satisfactory security. The conditions for attaining such security are so fantastically great they are ridiculous. If I place my happiness in the possession and enjoyment of material goods, won't it be necessary, lest I be at the mercy of my neighbor's carelessness, that I be given all rights over

all the goods of the earth? Thereafter will I be able to recognize the rights of others. Thanks to this emancipation, thanks to this liberty, I should be able henceforth to treat my neighbor with all the equity compatible with my own security. To a community composed of persons with such aspirations I prefer Macbeth whose ambition was limited to the crown of Scotland!

Many people agree that happiness ought to bring with it something spiritual and that it is in the spiritual that happiness ought to find its fulfillment. But more numerous still are they who look for an ambiguous "sufficiency of material goods," before giving themselves over to the pursuit of those spiritual goods of which they have heard tell. This "sufficiency of material goods," which, according to Saint Thomas, is necessary for the practice of virtue, is one of the most fruitful equivocations in history.

The most common case is that of the man who, persuaded that happiness consists only in the enjoyment of material goods, is nevertheless sufficiently intelligent to understand that the law of averages does not favor his chances of becoming the undisputed czar of all possible production. So he turns his ambitions toward a system which he thinks is more practical. This is the origin of the theory, as old as mankind, of the common possession of material goods, where each person will have just as much as everyone else, so no one will have the right to complain. This arrangement is seductive; it at least allows everyone to talk about the brotherhood of man. But it is a strange brotherhood, with no source of fraternity. Now many people blissfully believe that communism means only such a system of goods held in common.

The desire for such a system is secular. We find a criticism of it as far back as Aristotle's *Politics*, and here is how Saint Thomas explains it in his *Commentary*:

Such a rule seems good on the surface and pleases men, and that for two reasons. *In the first place*, because of the good they think will result from its being made a law. When they are told, for instance, that the citizens will hold all things in common, they joyfully welcome the thought of the wonderful universal friendship which will result. *In the second place*, because of the ills which they think will disappear as an effect of the law. For they explain all the evils which actually occur in society, such as lawsuits over contracts and perjury, the envy of the poor for the rich, as if they all were derived from the fact that goods are not held in common. But if you look well into the causes of these things, none of them is the result of possessions not being held in common; rather

they spring from the malice of men. As a matter of fact we see that those who possess goods in common have many more quarrels than those whose possessions are separated. But as common possessions are few compared to divided ones, they naturally give rise to fewer litigations. Moreover if all possessions were held in common there would be many more disputes.

When the marxist teaches that material goods are the only true goods, he can count on the appetites of the masses of men who have never thought otherwise, or who believe that if spiritual goods also exist they will be more accessible when each one will have a sufficiency of material goods.

But only material goods exist, the marxists maintain, and peace among men will be possible the day the means of production will have become common property. So it follows, they say, that those who profess the reality and primacy of the spirit, who hold that in the political community justice and liberty are possible only through the right of private property, are at bottom the enemies of brotherhood and of happiness. Those are the marxist principles which can catch the attention and interest of the masses and which the masses think they understand. But marxism teaches much more fundamental things which far too many, alas, do not understand.

The Ordinary Idea of Communism Is Despised by the Marxists

The masses do not know that Marx speaks with the greatest scorn of the idea which the people hold of communism and the equality of men. Crude communism, says he, "is the perfection of envy and the thirst for leveling, which proclaims a minimum equality for all." Now, still following Marx, such a minimum saps the possibility of a fruitful revolution at its base. In marxism the desire for material goods must tend toward a certain infinity; it is precisely this insatiable hunger which is the lever of progress. And that is why everything has to be done to keep the workers in a state of exasperation—at least until the day of the absolute dictatorship of the proletariat, a dictatorship which is a perfect exemplar of that rival system the communists call fascism.

Some critics have thought that they could refute marxists by pointing out the fallacy of seeking happiness in the holding of goods in common. It is true that several not-too-well-informed marxists themselves have fallen into the trap of thinking that the expropriation of private owners would suffice to vanquish all the ills of mankind, and that liberty and peace would spontaneously

result. But the truth of the matter is that the orthodox marxist does not ignore the nature of men on this point. He knows very well that, contrary to popular opinion, the appropriation of the means of production by the community is far from being a sufficient or final solution. Orthodox marxists are one with Saint Thomas on this point. Within their dialectical reasoning it is normal for tension and internal contradiction to become more profound and violent, the closer society approaches "the final stage of communism."

To use Karl Marx' own way of putting it, the idea that the emancipation of man will coincide with the abolition of private property is bound by "the narrow horizon of bourgeois law," where work is only a means of earning a living, whereas the communist ideal of "from each according to his capacity, to each according to his need" will not be reached until the day when "work will have become not only the means of gaining a living, but even the primary reason for living." Even when "the means of production become common property" the ignorance and cupidity of men will need more than ever to be controlled by an unpitying "state machinery," the state itself being "personified by armed workers." Under the dictatorship of armed workers "society will be merely a gigantic office and factory, with equality of work and salary" (Lenin). But the marxist takes care to add that it is not in this first phase of the communist society that "our ideal and our final end" will be realized. "As long as the state exists there will be no liberty, when liberty reigns there will be no more state." This "incomplete communism" which bourgeois opinion confuses with the final stage of communist society" will only be established and maintained by an extreme violence, by "the entire population in arms," by "the discipline of the workshop." Here the marxist lacks neither realism nor frankness. Lenin regards it as "an interesting fact that one is imprisoned within the narrow horizon of the bourgeois law under communism in its early stages." In *The State and Revolution* Lenin wrote:

The bourgeois law, so far as the distribution of consumer products is concerned, presupposes ineluctably a bourgeois State for the law is worthless unless there exists an organized power capable of enforcing its norms.

It follows that in the communist regime the bourgeois law and also the bourgeois State, without *bourgeoisie*, will continue for a certain length of time.

Actually for the pure marxist material goods and their enjoyment, the dream of the masses, are not in the end the true good

of man. The authentic communist will tell you that this conception is vulgar and bourgeois. But he will concede that for the masses to hold this opinion is useful, not to say necessary. In their writings which they take no care to hide—they know probably that we won't read them or that even if we do we won't take them seriously—the marxists say that the masses don't know what they want, that the knowledge of the hidden desire of the worker is limited to a small number of people. But what is this desire, what is the happiness which is its object?

Communism is a Spiritual Doctrine

The good of which the marxist says that it constitutes the supreme happiness of man is found after all in the sphere which we can call strictly "spiritual"! It may seem astonishing that for this materialist, human life, far from being entirely confined to the economic sphere, is raised above it in such a way that economic life itself must be perfectly subordinated to an end which has always been considered as strictly spiritual. If the marxist does not want the end he pursues to be qualified in this manner, he is only quibbling about words. Do not think for a minute that I am trying to lead the marxists over "to our side." But the fact is that they would not be so dangerous if they limited themselves to materialism as it is understood in the current expression "materialistic civilization." The trouble is that in saying that matter is the fundamental reality, and that there is no other reality at all, the marxists without denying the spirit maintain that it is nothing more than the higher product of matter.

But this spirit—which owes all its reality to a matter lacking all intelligence, infinitely blind, completely lifeless, yet fated to produce the spiritual—how does it manifest its superiority? In pushing man into the slough of sensuality? No. The marxist has his austere and ascetical side. So much so that he finds in bad taste the alternative Saint Paul offers: "If the dead do not rise, *let us eat and drink for tomorrow we will die.*"

And the marxist finds no less vulgar the words that the Book of Wisdom puts in the mouth of the impious who make a pact with death and who believe that "after this we shall be as if we had not been":

Come then, let us enjoy pleasure, while pleasure is ours; youth does not last, and creation is at our call; of rich wine and well spiced take we our fill. Spring shall not cheat us of her blossoming; crown we our heads with roses ere they wither; be every meadow the scene of our wanton mirth.

Share we the revels all alike, leave traces everywhere of our joyous passing; no part or lot have we but this.

No, marxism is something more profoundly monstrous than is aesthetic materialism. But if the marxist refuses this type of materialism he cannot repudiate the following words which the same Book of Wisdom puts on the lips of the impious:

Helpless innocence shall lie at our mercy; not for us to spare the widow, to respect the venerable head, grown white with years. Might shall be our right, weakness count for proof of worthlessness. Where is he, the just man? We must plot to be rid of him; he will not lend himself to our purposes. Ever he must be thwarting our plans; transgress we the law, he is all reproof, depart we from the traditions of our race, he denounces us. What, would he claim knowledge of divine secrets, give himself out as the son of God? The touchstone, he, of our inmost thoughts; we cannot bear the very sight of him, his life so different from other men's, the path he takes, so far removed from theirs! No better than false coin he counts us, holds aloof from our doings as though they would defile him; envies the just their future happiness, boasts of a divine parentage. Put we his claims, then, to the proof; let experience show what end awaits him. If to be just is to be God's son indeed, then God will take up his cause, will save him from the power of his enemies. Outrage and torment, let these be the tests we use; let us see that gentleness of his in its true colors, find out what his patience is worth. Sentenced let him be to a shameful death; by his own way of it he shall find deliverance.

That's exactly what the marxists think and what they are doing under our very eyes. What is that good they believe in, that the just are keeping them from realizing?

For the marxist, material goods are only the outward manifestation of an immanent good which we call spiritual. In reality the good they seek is only an apparent good, but it is an apparent good in the spiritual order. The masses need not know this final goal. As we just said, it is enough for the marxist that the truth be known by a small number of people. At the same time these few must be able to count on the ignorance of the crowd they oppose.

The end the marxist pursues is liberty. What liberty? For this term is singularly equivocal. The marxist affirmation that all reality is material is above all a negation. The two spiritual realities whose negation is at the base of all marxist thought about

liberty are none other than God and the immortality of our soul. That is, the marxist maintains there is neither a Creator nor a Supreme Judge. There is only man who really acts and to whom can be attributed the name of "creator." If God did exist, the communist ideal of liberty would become impossible; should the soul be immortal, the end no longer would justify the means. For the marxist there can be no question of liberty except on condition of everything being confined within the limits of the domain where man is the supreme being and the cause of his own life as man. It is by reason of this causality that the human person differs from animals and other sensible things.

Work and Liberty

Man differs from animals through "work of a specifically human sort." Marx said, in *Capital*:

The spider works out operations like those of the weaver; the bee, in the construction of his honeycomb, astonishes many an architect. But what distinguishes, first of all, the worst architect from the most clever bee is that the former constructs his cell in his head before he realizes it in wax. The resulting work has pre-existed in the mind of the worker. He not only makes a change in nature, he realizes in nature his own ends; he knows what the end is, which determines as a law the ways in which he acts and to which he ought to subordinate his will. This subordination is not an isolated act. Besides the effort of the organs which are doing the work he needs constantly to exert an adequate will power in the form of attention. The less demand the work makes on a man's physical and spiritual powers, the more attention he has to give to it.

Obviously we would agree with the above, but the marxist puts the whole of man into this capacity to be the intentional cause of material works, and it is within these narrow limits that he means to achieve the final end of man. What man wants most fundamentally, he tells us, is independence, to the extent of being the cause of his own life as a man, to owe nothing to a transcendent cause. This ideal may seem as abstract as it is unusual, but it is nevertheless the ideal for which the marxist is ready to make every sacrifice. Here is what Karl Marx says in his *Critique of Political Economy*:

A being does not consider himself independent until he is his own master, and he is not his own master until he is the cause of his own *existence*. But the man who lives by

the grace of another is considered a dependent being. But I live completely thanks to another when I am indebted to him not only for my subsistence but when he has besides created my life, is the source of my life. This is the way it is unless I have created myself. *Creation* is therefore an idea difficult to eradicate from the popular mind. This mind *does not understand* that nature and man exist in their own right, for any other existence is contrary to all the obvious *facts* of practical life.

But as . . . *all the alleged history of the world* is none other than just man producing himself by his own work, the evolution of nature for man's sake, the proof is obvious and irrefutable that man is *born* of himself, he is his own origin. From the fact of the substantiality of man, from the fact that man has become sensible and visible in nature in a practical manner, for the sake of man as the existence of nature, in nature as the existence of man, it has become in practice impossible to ask if there exists a being who is placed above nature and man—this question would imply the non-essentiality of nature and of man.

According to the marxist, man will truly be master of his property the day when work itself will have become the primary need of his life. Human work is first of all "bound by need and exterior ends," but man will be truly free only when the "essentially human," having mastered the material world, "will give birth to its own interior richness." Free then from exterior necessity, man will no longer place his happiness only in the enjoyment of exterior goods which are the *fruit* of his work, but he will feel a need of the work itself in proportion as in this work and in the production of the means of subsistence he shows himself, to himself, to be his own end, and the cause of the fulfillment of this reality. Marx wrote:

The first premise of all human existence, consequently of all history, is namely the presupposition that men have to live before they can "make history." But to live it is necessary to have something to eat, to drink, a house, clothes and some other things. Therefore the first historical fact is the production of the means of satisfying these needs, the production of the material life itself, and this is truly an historical fact, a fundamental condition of all history, which necessarily obtains today as a thousand years ago, every day, every hour, merely to keep men alive . . . The second point is that, once satisfied, the primary need arouses of itself, through the act

of its satisfaction, new needs to be satisfied—and this production of new needs is the primary historical act.

History, properly speaking, is nothing but the process whereby man makes his self in creating his own needs and responding to them himself from the first historical act to the "fulfillment of human reality" in work which has become the primary need of his life. Work becomes the first need of one's life as soon as it is no longer determined by exterior needs and ends. "The reign of liberty," according to Marx (by contrast with the reign of necessity), "begins where work determined by exterior needs and ends no longer obtains. In the very nature of things it is outside the sphere of material production. But the reign of necessity always continues to exist. It is beyond this reign that the development of the powers of man begins, where he becomes his own end, which is the true reign of liberty."

All this, as I have said, may seem strangely abstract, but I can do nothing about it; it is Marx to the letter. Now you will understand what I was trying to say a little while ago when I stated that for the marxist the economic life is purely and simply a function of an interior finality, a spiritual finality. In fact, the desire to be independent in this manner, to be the cause of one's self to the point of owing nothing to another, of "hating all the gods," this desire is in the spiritual order, it is a disorder we call *pride*. That is why marxism is essentially atheistic. It is the will to live its atheism by a concrete affirmation—through physical work—erected into a beatific activity, of which man himself is at once the supreme cause and the ultimate end. Within this fundamental perspective material goods and their community ownership are only means.

Economic Determinism

That is what explains the strange fervor of the marxist. The appetite of the masses—above all the unruly desire for material goods—is only an instrument which the marxists exploit for an end which the people feel no want of. Their will to achieve this "interior end" is so great that they do not hesitate to throw millions of men into a slavery that antiquity would have been unable to conceive of. For this apparent good, which is nevertheless in the spiritual order, the marxist has a love which is stronger than death. No sacrifice is too great. This happiness, which could be realized only in the distant future and for men as yet unborn, is sufficient justification for the misery under which humanity has groaned from its beginning. The marxist finds this misery perfectly normal and natural. He has conceived a clear and sufficient

Explanation for everything, for every imaginable situation. For instance, why does Socrates believe in immortality? Why does his wife Xanthippe drench him with a pail of water when he ventures to come home in the "small hours"? Because the production relations are lagging behind the forces of production!

The Final Stage of Communism

Sometimes it is asked: Why is it that the Soviet government in Russia does not tire of the effort needed to maintain its frightful dictatorship over the population? It is because marxists are convinced that this merciless discipline will culminate finally and *spontaneously* in the perfectly happy society, about which, however, they are careful not to be too precise. On this last point they are much more reticent than the theologians. As a matter of fact, they do not even claim to know how communism will attain its final stage. Lenin himself admits it:

But what will be the pace of this movement, at what moment will it break away from the division of labor, abolish the opposition between intellectual work and physical work, and make work itself "the first vital need"? That we do not know, and *cannot* know.

So we only have the right to speak of the inevitable withering of the state, stressing the fact that it will be a long process, that it will depend on the pace at which the higher phase of communism unfolds. The question of the time and concrete forms of this withering remains open, for we *do not have* sufficient data to solve it.

From the political point of view the difference between the first and second phases of communism will in time become immense, but actually under a capitalist regime it would be ridiculous to make a point of it and there are only a few anarchists who do give it first place.

To justify his reticence Lenin could cite Marx' statement: "Humanity never poses problems which it cannot resolve."

However, if Lenin refuses to be precise about the concrete forms and the duration of the transitional process, he nevertheless points out the general principle of it. Here are his last words on *the final stage of communist society*:

When the whole world will, in fact, have learned to administer social production and will really administer it directly, when everyone will independently proceed to the registry and control of parasites, of the spoiled sons of indulgent parents, of rascals and other "guardians of capitalist traditions" it will be so incredibly difficult, not to

say impossible to escape this universal census and control; it will be so exceptionally rare; every attempt to do so will bring about such a prompt and exemplary punishment (for armed workers, who are practical men, and not sentimental little intellectuals, do not play around with people) that the necessity of observing the simple and fundamental rules of all human society will pass very quickly into a *state of habit*.

The door will then swing wide open toward the final stage of communist society and, following that, toward the complete withering of the state.

Notice the expression, "the necessity of observing the simple and fundamental rules of every human society will pass very quickly into a *state of habit*." We are, then, very far from the popular opinion about communism. Common ownership of the means of production leaves unsolved at this point a difficult problem to which the most authoritative authors refuse to suggest concrete solutions—with a prudence which is self-explanatory.

Just the same, if "we do not know and *we cannot know*" the concrete forms of the transition nor its duration, at least we know that the ultimate end of communism, liberty, "the integral development of the individual," is to obtain when work will have become the first need of our life. The labor by which the worker transforms nature and produces needed material things (the needs, for that matter, grow to infinity) will no longer be simply a means; these goods, however real and necessary they are, will be relegated to second place and the work itself, i.e., man's production of his self as man, will become the supreme good.

The Logic of the Marxists

To sum up, if there were no God and no soul for him to deny, the marxist would be hopelessly unemployed and deprived of hatred; material goods would be for him the most contemptible of all goods.

Unfortunately his negations leave us quite indifferent. We are so far gone that they no longer frighten us. All our fear of the communists comes usually from their threat to take away our material possessions and redistribute them in their own fashion. If that were the only evil that could disturb us, we should deserve what we got. If life is really so mediocre, if such possessions are actually man's true goods, man's being would be the very exemplar of absurdity.

We are scandalized at the mass liquidations taking place in Russia, at the slavery, the iniquitous trials, etc. But given their

principles, their denial of God and of the immortality of the soul, why should the marxists not act as they do? Have they not exalted the sovereign dignity of the human person in such a way as to make it despicable? Have they not so exalted the Judgment of History as to deny the Supreme Judge, the Author of history? If God does not exist, what is there to mind or be afraid of?

We are slow to take account of the logical consequences of the negation of the immortality of the human soul. If I am completely mortal, like dogs and goats, tomorrow it will be with me as though I had never existed. So also with my neighbor. If my life is confined to this temporal and temporary existence, I am the measure of my own life; and if I am not a good measure or do not have the power to be a suitable measure of my life, someone else will surely have the grace to take charge of me in my place. Furthermore, if I am an obstacle to the "dynamic" flowering of my neighbor's personality, why should he hesitate to snuff me out? The person charged with liquidating me ought not to be disturbed, any more than I should be disturbed. For soon it will be as though neither of us had ever existed. Whether I was assassinated or whether I have been an assassin; victim or killer, what difference does it make? "The dialectic of history," "the eternal dynamism of matter" are unconcerned about these old distinctions. And then, over and above these slaughters there is the triumph of glorious science which can now convert the otherwise troublesome human cadavers into an excellent soap—with which to wash one's hands covered with blood, if washing one's hands for such petty reasons is not just another bourgeois prejudice.

You admire the incomparable generosity of the people who are marxist! Not only will they sacrifice themselves completely for the humanity of the future, their activity is quite gratuitous, for even this humanity of the future is also destined to disappear. In fact, it is a great marxist doctrine that "all which lives is destined to die"; even the classless society is already condemned to destruction by a cosmic catastrophe which will annihilate all life on earth, as Engels has predicted in his *Dialectics and Nature*. Soon it will be as though humanity had never existed. Briefly, the marxist gives himself with a gratuitousness which is quite unthinkable.



Several years ago, I was invited to an intimate dinner with a group of university professors in California. In the course of the conversation one of them said he was horrified by what the communists were doing; they were so brutal. Knowing some of

the opinions of my colleague, I said I wasn't too clear on his objection; after all, why should the communists hesitate to do what they were doing? Since they had the power to do it they were their own judges. Why not throw several million men into concentration camps and liquidate a fair share of them? For each of these individuals tomorrow it will be as if he had never existed, and soon the same will hold for their jailers and their killers. After all, "Life's but . . . a tale, told by an idiot, full of sound and fury, signifying nothing." Several of his colleagues turned toward me. "Do you earnestly mean to say that you would make the well-ordered society depend upon a belief in God and immortality?" But they did not wait for an answer—they were content to give me a look of surprise.

Marxism is Based on Despair

For a long time we have insisted on the necessity of belief in God and the immortality of the human soul, even for social life. Inasmuch as human relationships are concerned, many would hold that such a belief is completely irrelevant. They think union can be established among men on the basis of man alone. But who is this "man" they are talking about? Before the war I gave a course on *The Marxist In The Face Of Death*. Allow me to quote a passage.

Eventually all of humanity will be entirely destroyed, *without mercy*. It is Friedrich Engels, collaborator of Marx, who tells us so. In other words we are subject to a merciless power, a force the more terrible because it is completely blind: the more implacable because it wreaks such cruelty in perfect innocence, so much so that it cannot even be called cruel in its cruelty. The inhuman power which rules everything is not a person; it is not even an animal. It is matter in all the crudity of mere matter. It is rock against man—the rock which can crush the brain. But, the marxist adds, "we know with certainty that matter will exist forever!" What a consolation! We therefore have the certitude that in other corners of the universe other humanities will arise; we have the assurance that the same cruel game will start all over again without end. The power of matter will always be merciless power. Let us rejoice in it; in the power of the inhuman, which awakens life and hope in order to destroy them. As for these humanities which will arise in other corners of the universe, the reasonable attitude ought to be that of blind and indifferent matter itself which breeds them and which, at bottom, has no attitude.

Marxism confronts us with unbelievable paradoxes. It teaches that man is a *higher* product of matter; man is the most perfect of beings. He is superior to the inert matter of which he is the highest product because he can act for an end, because he can make an intelligent plan for himself; because he has the light of intelligence, a light emerging from the mindless darkness of matter; he is called superior to all other beings, for while producing his own means of subsistence, he, in some way, makes himself. Nevertheless, all this perfection, this jewel of the universe, is weakness itself, powerlessness, the toy of a might which does not play! Do we aspire to power? That which in comparison with intelligence is impotence, that is the power. The invincible power, the true power, is none other than that of the inhuman. The imperfect is incomparably more powerful than its highest product. It is the invincible power of the lower which breeds the eternally feeble power of the higher. It is the night which dominates the light it has brought forth; it is death which reigns over life and which is invincible, thanks to the scientific laws of mindless matter. It is non-being, nothingness, which governs the all. The true power is that of what is not. Lifeless matter has greater power than life and is immortal because it has no life; darkness dominates light because it is unmercifully blind.

Life, then, is the great tragedy of being. Since life tends to hold on to itself and cannot exist except in death, the condition of life is essentially tragic. Man lives in the certitude of death; whoever looks at life stares death in the face. How can the marxist console himself with living? How can he conceal from us this literally ineffable farce of human existence? In truth the lot of man is worse than that of the beast. His immense sorrow is absolutely useless; yet man desires nothing more than that his suffering may serve some purpose. Life is therefore a state of despair; it is despair itself. We are the children of despair. Worse, we cannot even reasonably either say or think so. For at bottom our despair is hopelessly ludicrous. It will get us nowhere.

It is folly to think about such things, the marxist would say. Of course, merciless power, senseless cruelty, is the first law of all life. But that does not concern us—it is "nobody's" business. One ought not even to think of such things! It would lead you to curse your own existence. It would make you curse all life. Now what would be more absurd than

such a curse? One only curses something responsible, only a person. The inhuman power, the blind force which has spewed you into life, is innocence itself. How could it be held to account? Your malediction is no less ludicrous than your despair.—This is a loathsome way of thinking, the marxist will add. In a well-ordered society the question of “to be or not to be” would be condemned as reactionary and those who dared raise it would be liquidated without mercy.

Pascal stigmatized indifference about death as a monstrosity. By contrast, this indifference is often admired as a sort of heroism. Our “living” philosophies are very far from Plato’s or Aristotle’s thought, where philosophy itself is a meditation on death and a preparation for death.

Even more profoundly perverse than that of the marxists’ is the ideal of the lukewarm (those who will be vomited from the mouth of God) who want to “construct” a society where all the fundamental questions will be left untouched. Whether men believe in God and immortality or not could hardly concern the political life! Yet it seems to us that the conception of such an ideal is intrinsically perverse. I cannot conceive, in fact, an ideal political community which does not openly bear witness to God. This noncommittal attitude, this indifference, constitutes in my opinion the greatest weakness of the West today and the only serious weakness. True, political society is a perfect society, but can this society and its laws abstract from the fact that man differs from beast because of his immortal soul and that in all his actions, whether public or private, he must try to conform to the will of God? *Thy will be done.* We are more and more accustomed to the idea that the nature of man and his ultimate end have nothing to do with his political life. And that suits the marxists fine because they do not make that distinction.

Our criticism of marxism is rarely well-founded, for the simple reason that we ourselves, in our social and political life, are concerned only with secondary things. When the marxist speaks of things so essential and prerequisite to all the rest, we will not even be bothered to try to understand what he says about them, or to see the frightful dangers such ideas carry in their wake.

Diabolical Pride of Marxism

So we have come a long way from the materialism which puts man’s end and happiness in the enjoyment of exterior material goods. We said that on the contrary the marxist pursued a goal in the spiritual order and that he relegated exterior needs and ends to second place.

Our own inordinate desire for material goods and our incredible doctrinal weakness are therefore the great strength of atheistic communism. Allow me to recall again that communism is not atheistic by mere accident. Yet a good number of so-called Christians have maintained that communism would not be so bad if, unfortunately, it did not insist on denying God. To talk this way is to ignore the first thing about communism. The marxist is the first to despise such naiveté. He knows perfectly well his only enemy. This enemy is not primarily private property, it is not the rich who cling to their material possessions, it is not some owner who treats his employees unjustly, it is not the bad Christian who disregards the Church's teaching in social matters. The primary enemy is God—God and the friends of God. True enough, social injustices can blind people and make them fair game for the communists. But do not go thinking that the hatred of the marxists is reserved to the unjust owners; they are their meat. But the just owners, the employers who treat their employees like human beings and give them good conditions of life, all conscientious Christians who know they have to account to God for all their actions, those are the enemies against whom the communist directs all his hatred. To abstract from the fact that the marxist considers man and man alone as the supreme divinity is to understand nothing of his social theory and of his action.

We must see in marxism a disorder of the will, of the intellectual appetite, and not merely a disorder of the sense appetite. In his treatise on pride, Saint Thomas says the following:

To have a thing of oneself is more excellent than to have it of another. Hence when a man esteems the good he has received of another as though he had it for himself, the result is that his appetite is borne towards his own excellence immoderately. Now one is cause of one's own good in two ways, efficiently and meritoriously: and thus we have the first two species of pride, namely when a man thinks he has from himself that which he has from God, or when he believes that which he has received from above to be due to his own merits.

In other words, Karl Marx expressly defines his historical materialism by pride, which is a sin of the spirit. Instead of being only a disorder of the sense life, of the concupiscible appetite, marxism has, on the contrary, a striking similarity to the sin of the angel who refused the happiness of which he himself would not have been the cause. An angel, however dark, is far too intelligent to be an atheist. Yet, thanks to the inferior mind of man,

he can achieve a vicarious negation—*The fool says in his heart there is no God* (Psalm 13.1).

As long as we continue to remain indifferent to the existence of God and to His place in every-day life, indifferent to the dignity which belongs to man insofar as he is made in the image of God, we risk falling to a level lower than that where communists can still find men to persecute; following one concession with another we shall have a society whose members, from their childhood, have been so thoroughly "conditioned" that they no longer will know there is a God, and that other men are brothers for whom one should be ready to die for the love of God.

CHARLES DE KONINCK

Paul Inside the Wall

*(A comment on Mr. Blanchard's reactions while
visiting Rome.)*

Substantiate my grave suspicion,
With evidence of dire submission:
Thousands shout, alive with hope,
(Before the domineering Pope).
Watch him carried through the square,
No Secret Service Agents there,
(But *monsignori* hidden stand,
A loaded carbine in each hand).
Rows of children dressed in white,
Dispel the dark with candle-light.
Men and women follow after,
(And go to church because they hafta).
Clergy lurk in ancient galleries,
(Exorbitant in paunch and salaries,
Plotting secretly another
Assumption of the Blessed Mother!).

FRANK MARTIN

The Revenge

The Supreme Court of Warsaw, Poland, declared in March 1950 that "buying, hoarding or hiding of goods in quantities exceeding normal daily necessities, is a crime, according to Article 4 of the recently promulgated statutes, and is liable to punishment." The Supreme Court gave the police the right to arrest any person or group hoarding more provisions than were necessary for the immediate needs of the day.

Even in time of general scarcity it is customary for those with adequate resources to store up foods and supplies against possible future needs. In order to ensure continuance of their communal life monasteries and convents often have cellars stocked with the simple necessities of daily living.

By one decree, binding on all, the prudence of the prudent was set at naught, and all citizens, Christian, neo-Christian or pagan, luke-warm or apostolic, religious or lay, were returned to the status of the first Christians. They were to be as lilies of the field, clothed and fed by the providence of God from one day to the next. The security of the full cellar, of next week's bread, was dashed away by the Supreme Court of a new regime.

The housing law in Poland contained a set of new decrees based on a census of housing needs and available room space. As a result, many monasteries, whose members had dwindled, were ordered by government order to allot unused wings of buildings and rooms to the poor, and to bombed-out families from such cities as Warsaw. Squatters from destroyed towns were organized by the Polish regime to march on unused buildings belonging to other religious orders. The courts upheld the rights of the squatters to make improvements so that the buildings could be converted into separate apartments for family living. The homeless were given shelter by compulsory decree.

Similar decrees were put into effect by the government which centralized control in Czechoslovakia and Hungary. Unused land owned by Church authorities and by religious orders was split up and given to those who had no land, or put to use for the welfare of the "peoples' democracy." (Later, even land used by Czech Church agencies for such social purposes as supporting orphanages or supplying food for hospitals was also confiscated.)

As a further step to force Christians to live together in harmony, smaller Czech monasteries were integrated into larger ones. The larger monasteries which had unused living-space received the monks from the smaller communities. It is reported that order

men of different communities were at times gathered together in monastic establishments whose resources of space and plant were not fully used. In these "concentration monasteries" the religious societies, which sometimes seem to breed a particularistic loyalty (Holy Mother the Society crowding out Holy Mother the Church) were reminded of their common lot of strengthening the bonds of Christian love and of resisting persecution to the end.

Straight With Crooked Lines

Such decrees are very numerous in the countries of eastern Europe. They are merely instances of a pattern of diabolical cunning in dramatizing the weaknesses of Christian life. It was not the Christian Church which stopped people from hoarding for tomorrow the bread needed today by one's hungry neighbor, it was the peoples' regime.

It was not the charity of Christ which opened the doors to the homeless who had not whereon to lay their heads. Again it was the regime, protector of peoples' rights.

It was not the Christian sense of justice which resulted in the breaking up of estates in Czechoslovakia or Hungary. Again it was the peoples' justice carried into glorious execution by the regime.

It was not the religious orders themselves which co-operated with each other out of disinterested love. Again it was the enlightened work of the regime to achieve such co-operation.

None of us in the West are fooled by such a governmental pattern. We know that no matter how unctuous the tone of the decree, it is promulgated for the wrong reasons. All such statutes have a purely political end, to discredit the Christian faith and reduce citizens to complete dependence on the all-powerful government of the peoples' democracy—of any country east of the Iron Curtain.

The native citizens of these peoples' democracies are not fooled either. But nevertheless we cannot dismiss such decrees out of hand without trying to learn something from them. Are they not a mirror of how far we have fallen? Do they not show us in palpably clear terms that communism, in one aspect, is a heresy—and that as a heresy it is the revenge of a forgotten truth? Many people have pointed out in the last thirty years that the slogan "From each according to his ability, to each according to his need," has echoes of Saint Paul. The economic policies of Christian individuals and groups have been known to justify exploitation, and the existence of a parasitic leisure class which eats its bread from the labor and sweat of others. Christians were not

tive enough in shouting the simple truth that men should "work and eat their own bread," and that those who do not work should not eat. It was to exploited people, spiritually starved for such vital concepts, that the communist slogan spelled hope and freedom from economic bondage.

If we look at communism this way, we shall see more deeply into it as a phenomenon of our de-Christianized age. We shall see more deeply into ourselves, into our shortcomings, and into the sacrifices required of us if we expect the Lord to lift communism from the backs of millions of helpless, oppressed people.

Revolt From Practice

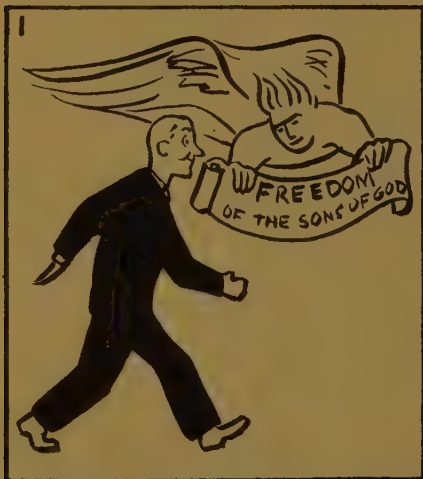
It is a fact of history that large-scale defections from Christ's Church have come, not on the basis of a revolt from dogma, but rather a revolt from practices (by religious and lay Catholics alike) which belied dogma and violated the essential teachings of Jesus Christ. In Spain, nominally a Catholic country, hundreds of thousands of people defected to communism because communism was able to ape the Christian message of justice and brotherhood. At the same time Catholics were content to carry out a formalistic adherence to Catholicism from which the burninglly vital social message of Jesus had been extracted. It was the communists who pushed for speedy land reform, for just wages, for adequate schooling for the poor illiterate young people of the suburbs of Madrid, Barcelona, Malaga. It was the Catholics who shouted at Gil Robles when he quoted the Holy Father on land reform, "If you take our land away by waving the encyclicals under our noses, we will become schismatics."

It was the Catholics who sent their children to the splendid schools maintained by the religious orders for the good families and the various degrees of the numerous nobility. While their own children were receiving careful instruction these Catholics did not feel it necessary to press for an adequate free public-school system which would take into its classrooms the children of the red-belt of Madrid or the *barriadas* of Barcelona.

In passing, why is it that almost every large city in Europe, particularly in Catholic countries, has a "red belt," or slum suburbs of workers, girding the more correct and well-ordered homes of the well-to-do? Is not such a wholesale defection as exemplified by the hundreds of thousands of souls in these "red belts" a defection from the false face of Christ shown to them by loveless Christians?

We do not know how many communists there are among the people of Spain. We do know that many millions of Italians

Freedom In Our Time



JOY PURSUED BUT CROSS REJECT



DISSIPATED ,



MARX-ELATED



URE, PRIDE AND POWER SELECTED,



EDOM REALIZED MUCH BELATED.

and Frenchmen have chosen communism of their own free will. This was also true of many millions of Czechs. It was emphatically not true of the people of such countries as Poland, the Baltic States, Rumania and Hungary. In the latter countries, where communism was imposed by a ruthless minority as a result of the blindness of the Western Allies, all efforts are being made to win over the young people.

As the revenge of a forgotten truth, communism is appealing to the young and immature behind the Iron Curtain, and to the convinced or half-convinced of the Western World and Asia.

Let us look at a few more aspects of this revenge on the forgotten truths of Christian living.

Brotherhood

One of the most electrifying messages of the communist ideology since the Russian Revolution is that of the brotherhood of the worker throughout the face of the globe. No matter what his national origin, the worker was united in solidarity with all the workers of all the nations. The preaching of solidarity caught fire for many reasons, one of these being that in the so-called Christian countries the citizens had coagulated into classes. The workers, being at the bottom, received little of the spiritual or material goods of the civilization, nor did they participate adequately in the building of the future. The international interchange and incessant travel of the upper classes throughout Europe could only result in a tightening of the bonds of the workers across national boundaries. The Spanish fisherwomen who rose and murdered the rich upper-class Spanish ladies in Malaga during the Spanish Civil War related in prison how in all their lives they had never exchanged a word with a rich lady. Their impersonal hatred was never tempered by the warmth of personal contact of any kind, so in the heat of revolt the fisherwomen butched in a detached way those whom they considered their oppressors.

The class differences, based on inherited lands, on inherited titles and privileges, on business acumen, but not on merit or natural gifts, were bound to cause explosions within nations. National communistic movements, even revolts, are a reaction to the rending of brotherhood, of the Mystical Body within a nation.

More important is the rending of brotherhood by Christian groups living on opposite sides of national boundaries. We have lived through an age of Cain in which the German Catholic has participated in mass killing of Polish Catholics, and the Polish Catholic has joined in mass expulsion of German Catholics. Granted that in either case the individual Catholic was probably a

helpless tool, in the power of a despotic regime, we must still face the fact that now that hostilities are over there is little evidence of Christian forgiveness.

It is left for the regime of Soviet Poland to express brotherhood and friendship for the people of Germany and to cement such friendship at the new Peace Border of the Oder-Niesse Line. It is left for the communist government of Eastern Germany to pledge eternal friendship for the Polish people. What an exquisite revenge on the Catholics of both sides who still recriminate one another and nurse nationalistic excesses that are far indeed from the universalism of a faith that sees "neither Jew nor Greek"!

The exacerbated nationalisms of Europe, based as they are on sense of superiority and contempt or undervaluing of others, are not even abated by the horrors of a general war which solved nothing. The Catholics who should be the solvents of nationalism are often its extremist spokesmen.

Christ, the Incarnate God, asked of the Jewish people that they die as a nation. They wanted a kingdom here, and they rejected a Messiah Who would dissolve their nationhood. The nations of Europe who share a Christian tradition refuse to die to nationhood, to merge in real unity their spiritual and other strengths. They may die as nations because of their disunity.

It is the communist message that calls the bitterest enemies to unite as brothers and friends.

Peace

The Christian religion was stamped with the word "Peace" as Christ appeared in human form. We should expect that Christians would be crying "peace" after the holocaust of the last decade. It is the communists who cry "peace" rather than the Catholics of Western Europe. It is the communists who paint the white dove of peace on the walls and buildings of Rome. It is the communists who let white paper doves of peace fly out of the windows of official buildings in the Soviet Sector of Berlin. True, this dove may be a Trojan Dove, but where do we see any representation of the true dove of peace, which also is the symbol of the Holy Spirit?

Men and women and little children, all actual targets for bombing in modern warfare, are withering away for fear of the future. They know that a new war will intensify the mass murder of the unprotected and the innocent that was so integral a part of World War II.

The immoral killing of civilians by the atom bomb is known wherever men congregate together. It is the communists who

ask ordinary people to sign against the use of the dread atom bomb, branding as the aggressor the first to employ it in warfare.

Catholic Christians say little on the atom bomb, and what they say is often said in terms that only the initiate can interpret. Only one forthright statement has been made recently by a prominent priest on the use of the atom bomb. The burden of his remarks was that America would be justified in using such a non-directive weapon in a preventive war!

People who may be targets of atom and other non-directive bombing are waiting in a wilderness of terror for a clear voice. "Can it be," asks a *Blackfriars* writer, regarding modern war, "that the Church's teaching work is hindered, her essential message not easily discernible, under piles of books and precedents and authorities and canons and commentaries, with everyone waiting to find out what everyone else has said?"

In the meantime, while the poor in all the crowded cities of Europe and the Far East are waiting to have the Gospel preached to them regarding mass killing by atom weapons, the Stockholm appeal, heralded by the dove of peace and making a straight statement on the atom bomb, comes to them from the evangelists of communism.

Lesson for Us

In the early days of evangelizing, ordinary work-weary men went forth bearing electrifying messages about the God-Man, about love, about forgiveness, about hope, about brotherhood. They often earned their keep by such trades as tent-making while they taught the messages that freed men from the old bondage to sin, to despair, to hatred. The poor had the Gospel preached to them—straight, clearly, understandably.

We Christians today often get tied up and strangled in our own trappings. We institutionalize even a mission parish before we have reached a small percentage of the souls in the area. We dress distinctively, build imposing and distinctive houses of worship, and dwellings, as soon as we can amass enough money.

If we could persuade the communists to dress distinctively, to talk in terms that are above the heads of the masses, and avoid live issues, to refrain from organizing lay groups or from preaching far and wide until they had large sums of money to lay out for buildings, we should have won our battle. They would be ham-strung as leaders.

Again—as a kind of revenge—they travel light, often earning their own keep by hard work; they bring the poor electrifying

messages about peace and brotherhood; they preach hope to men withering away from fear of the future.

Can we be humble enough to learn these hard lessons? This may be the Lord's way of teaching us lessons that we shall not learn in any easier way.

JEREM O'SULLIVAN-BARRA



The Person Under Communism

It is a significant historical fact that no country has ever yet accepted communist rule except under duress. Ever since the year 1917 when the German government, with intent to stir up trouble for the Czar, shipped Lenin to Russia in a sealed railway carriage and thereby stirred up trouble for generations yet unborn, communism has everywhere and always been a minority movement established by outside intervention. No country has ever freely voted itself into communism; if, therefore, a communist regime desires approval it has to achieve it by coercion.

It is currently believed that communist rulers are too hard-boiled to care for anyone's approval. This is a serious error. Assent is essential to them. This is not because the consent of the governed makes them more effectively governable—they can be yet more effectively governed in prison camps. The approbation of the governed is essential to them for less obvious reasons which we can best discover by first examining their aims.

We bourgeois are gross enough to believe that, like ourselves, the communists aspire to an earthly paradise of motor cars and electric mixers, with a little music thrown in for good measure. The communists rightly despise us for believing this to be their aim. It would be both grotesque and futile to try to achieve such a result with the disproportionately monstrous means which they are using.

Let us be clear about this; they do not seek the material welfare of mankind as their ultimate goal. They do not even seek social justice as their end, but only as a means thereto. Their true end, as others more learned in their doctrines than myself have shown, is not a material end at all. Its truly spiritual nature is attested in the works of Marx, who calls this end *liberation*. Neither liberation from oppression, since he is speaking of a remote period when the state will have withered away, nor liberation from poverty, because he is speaking specifically of a time when wants will be indefinitely multiplied and indefinitely satisfied. This is a more subtle liberation. To put the reasoning in a very tiny nutshell: work as an economic activity is that which differentiates man from beast. Man, though a product of matter, nevertheless, by subduing matter and creating the conditions of his economic life creates himself. It follows that work is the means by which man creates himself. It is therefore not only the proof of his independence from a Cause (that is, from God), but the means of

his intellectual "liberation" and therefore the never failing armature of his aspirations. Man creates himself and is therefore godlike. But since work as economic production is a social undertaking, it is not the individual man who is his own creator but mankind as an indivisible whole. If this analysis is correct then the emphasis on work, not as a utility, but as an asceticism and a mystique, becomes intelligible. Further the sacrifice—even useless—of the person to the collectivity becomes logical, and the virulence of atheism is explained.

Attractive Gospel

Though people are proverbially disinclined to effort yet the gospel of labor attracts people to communism more than it repels them. It is worth discovering why this is so. It is undoubtedly true that men feel a fine satisfaction in working together to build something they can look on with pride. There is a lovely sense of brotherhood in such conjoined creation. This exhilaration of common selfless effort is not often found in our ignoble lives, so its recognition and exploitation are communism's strongest pull. Any cause which credits man with a capacity for sacrifice and exacts it, will defeat any cause which fails to. All theories of enlightened self-interest notwithstanding, people prefer—let it be said to their honor—to be asked at times for "blood and sweat and tears" than to be offered always overstuffed armchairs.

This authentic natural experience of joy in common effort is isolated by the communists from its context (a life integrated in the law of God) and is transformed not only into the motor principle of the "new man" but made at the same time his aim in life and his only eternity. This single experience has to be swelled to a sufficient stature to replace all the shattered loyalties and strangled moralities of the past. Work is advertised, glorified and praised. Work is the force counted on to achieve the merger of man in one vast composite selfless personality. Work is the fire which must fuse mankind into spiritual oneness, the sacrificial flame which can melt the individual down and fit him for entrance into this ethereal impersonal Nirvana. For it is both the proof of his godhead and his means of becoming god.

We are told that the state will wither away, that it is an unfortunate temporary necessity. We are never told that work will diminish even in the era of regenerate humanity. On the contrary, the "leisure state" is a bourgeois wish-dream, while work is insisted on by the communists, not only as catharsis but as beatitude itself.

Both Theory and Practice

That this is so not only as a matter of theory, but is in the very marrow of party practice, I know from the talk of at least one old communist. He used to attack the "Judaean-Christian myth," not because it was false from the materialist angle but because it was false from the spiritual angle. His hatred arose because of "the incalculable harm done to social man's thinking by the story of the expulsion from an Eden of idleness into a penal world of work. "Making work the punishment of transgression has poisoned our whole concept of labor—labor which is man's highest activity." It was obvious from his tense voice and the snap in his eyes that he was stating the central doctrine of his faith. He would end quietly, with missionary finality, "That stigma we shall root out."

The glorification of the "shock worker," the songs and the prizes—all that is not, as we believed in the early days of Stakhanovism, a mere expedient for upping badly needed production. We thought that was so because we are in the habit of thinking that consumers must be placated. The consumer is the least of a communist government's worries. Stakhanovism is only incidentally exploited to maintain some kind of economic equilibrium, but essentially it is another symptom of that cult of work on which is founded the idolatry of man.

Unity is Essential

If mankind is to be liberated from God by a *corporate* effort, it becomes clear that the unity which we see the Soviets everywhere expending such prodigious pains to achieve can be no mere acquiescent uniformity. Such *external* unanimity is more or less rapidly achieved as each country in turn is taken over. Everywhere, after more or less prolonged resistance, voters (varying between 98% and "102%") have said "yes" at elections. This is a sample letter from a friend behind the iron curtain:

I lost my political virginity last week in voting, and voting "aye" for the regime. The elections were free, secret and voluntary. I was very well inspired to vote "aye." Others found out that contrary initiative does not pay. I also showed my grief in public for the deceased X (a party bigwig) by wearing a black armband and attending the procession along with my fellow workers. Others have since regretted their absence. My son was less amenable and more incorruptible and is at present extracting salt from the mines and will continue to do so for a minimum of six months.

This man, after years of resistance to threats, voted "yes." A few days after this letter was slipped across the border he was arrested, tortured, imprisoned. His masters were not satisfied with the external conformity which had cost him so much self-respect; it still left him mentally free. That is not tolerable in a citizen of Sovietia. Not because his mental reservation might endanger the state (what could mere thoughts and bare hands do against tommy guns?) but because it endangers something much more important still, something which is new in history. It has been suggested that we have a parallel case in the Roman state which exacted a loyalty-test of obedience to the divine emperor, torturing and killing those citizens who refused. The hierarchic pattern of the empire made the emperor, like the primitive priest-kings, the symbolic central arch sustaining the humano-divine structure of the universe. Thus only a dangerous subversive would refuse the gesture of reverence before this harmonious edifice. That is why reasonable, humane magistrates condemned so many Christians to frightful tortures. If the latter made a gesture however, even the most perfunctory bow and offering, they were immediately released. The state had done its part in exacting loyalty. If the loyalty was outward only, that was a matter for the man and for the gods. Gestures are no longer enough when there are no gods to look into consciences. *When mankind is making itself God* each conscience is all mankind's affair. So gestures are no more enough and the soul itself must bow before the rulers of the world.

No Spectators Allowed

Since human society is being remade to a new, non-natural design, it is quite logical that the individual should be remodeled too. It is obvious that no spectators—whether hostile or indifferent—can be permitted at the birth of a renewed, corrected world. Everyone is necessarily a participant, either as a builder or a destroyer, of this renovated creation. Every man, woman and child must therefore become a member of this mystical body of man; nothing less can satisfy the communist.

It is all explicit in his *name*. He really *is* a communist, not because he proposes to hold material goods in common, but because he proposes to enforce a common spiritual end at the cost of all things else. "Thou shalt have no other gods but me." Communism has destroyed God in order to play god. It denies the soul and spends the body to remake the soul. It demands, as God does, a consented conformity of the individual will. But unlike God Who with divine restraint refrains from tampering

with the liberty He has so surprisingly created and so dearly respects, communism enforces consent. God's order is enjoined but not imposed, even at the price of the fall and the redemption. The imitation-order of communism being inverted, its equilibrium is each instant threatened by the working of every natural law. In this precarious balance a single dissenting thought threatens to send the whole construction toppling into the void. For liberty is the most destructive enemy of artificial order as it is the brilliant hallmark of true order.

The Mystical Body of Christ is created by the surrender of wills to God in a free and logical act of justice. The ersatz mystical body is created by the enforced surrender of wills to the state. The free consent of the spirit under God is parodied by the raped consent of the spirit under communism. This *communion of men*, this *mystical body of man*, is not just an academic aberration with cruel consequences. There is no body without a spirit but a dead body, and communism is not yet a corpse. As the true Mystical Body is filled with Christ so the false mystical body must be inhabited by Lucifer.* His marks are all upon it: the false luminosity, the gift for pride-stirring propaganda, the virulence against God, the broken promises, and a world of pain. There is another sign perhaps in the identification of self-destruction with fulfillment. The "death-wish" that the modern psychologist recognizes as the balance to the "libido" is present in the longing to pool the person in the mass, to lose the self completely and forever, and is the very opposite of giving up the self to God to find completion and eternal life. In this light the sacrifice of the individual becomes no longer a merely necessary work of social reconstruction, it is a part of the suicidal process of making all things one in man, and as Engels insists with chilling relish, since it is the lot of men and worlds to die, this means all things one in death.

Not in communism alone but also in the sick society which sired it, there is this turning away from light and life, this leaning toward death. (The justification of suicide, euthanasia, sterilization, abortion, contraception, is symptomatic.) The delicious freedom of the man who stops his work for a while to stand still in the sun and watch a bird fly, enjoying it and not thinking that he is wasting time—of time in terms of money at all—this liberty of mind is rare now. There is in our society too, though less strikingly than in its collectivist offspring, the cult of work for its

* We have seen smaller attempts to create false union show the same symptoms of diabolic possession—the most recent and most striking having been the mystique of *blood*, the mystical body of the *race* in Nazism.

own sake, a cruel contempt for the frugal who prefer to spend less and work less, a satisfaction in the servitude of business which points to the same death-wish in our hearts. Thus when man forgets God he forgets that man was created for delight and that work became burdensome only as a temporal purgation before an eternity of effortless contemplation. Not wishing to admit his debt to God he prefers to think that he himself chose the austerity of work and around this sad myth he builds his new heaven and new earth.

How Unity is Achieved

We have seen that unreserved conformity is not so much a political expedient as the logical *spiritual* necessity of materialist communism. Let us examine the means by which the achievement of unification is attempted. We know that when a country is taken over it is done to a tune now familiar, always the same, but played at a different tempo according to the condition of that country.

First the *anti*-communists are dealt with.

(A) The conservatives are summarily liquidated, particularly if they are intelligent and articulate. This category presents no problems, and they are normally disposed of without trial or tried hastily by informal "peoples courts" and shot.

(B) Next the liberals, especially the eloquent mouth-piece-of-the-people-type, are cowed into silence by intimidation or deportation, or, if this is not successful and they persist in speaking, they may be brought to trial under the accusation of "fascism." Right after the war a favorite method was to get a mixed batch containing a few authentic Nazi-collaborators, a number of stiff-necked conservatives and a quantity of soft-hearted liberals and doctrinaire socialists, and accuse them all indiscriminately of fascism and condemn them all to death before anyone had time to disentangle the confusion.

(C) Real small-fry Nazi-collaborators rarely had a hard time. It appears to be a principle to keep these on in their positions of trust. No doubt because a man with such a past hanging over his head is more likely to be reliable. But more because such a man is already immunized against independence of mind, scruples of conscience or other attacks of weakness. He has already had a valuable training in "double thinking." Of course, if he makes any blunder he has short shrift.

The *pro*-communists are the next to receive attention.

It may not seem logical that those who have already given their consent, their labor, and many other sacrifices to the party

should require attention at all. Purity however is not a permanent quality. Cleanliness can only be preserved by frequent washing. It is necessary to preserve party-hygiene.

(A) The mere fellow-traveller is quickly pushed aside and silenced by accusations of one sort or another. If he protests, he is labelled "trotzkyite" and implacably destroyed.

(B) Party members are divided into two groups. The "soft" (idealist) marxists who are for a time kept in front jobs because of popularity. They are very closely watched however, for they are not only possibly but inevitably a danger. They tend to an inconvenient inflexibility of theory and disastrous flexibility in practice. They may refuse to toe the party line when it ceases to be faithfully doctrinate or they may resist the attempt to exploit their own countrymen for the good of the U.S.S.R. In view of their show-window features however, they cannot be peremptorily liquidated. They are required to stand trial, publicly to retract any nonconformist thought they might have had or be about to have. Such confessions not only restore the unity of the "body" but magically renew and revive it. Every sacrifice of personal conviction, every breast-beating confession is a precious life-giving blood transfusion. The only case (still not fully explained) where the technique is known to have broken down, where mental reservations were not only made by a communist of the first rank, but were spoken aloud, blared over the loudspeakers which had been set to carry the opposite message to the waiting masses, was the case of the Bulgarian, Traitcho Kostoff. He had to be executed, unrepentant, accused of treachery, of plotting with the fascist U.S.A., but proclaiming himself faithful. That sort of hitch is unlikely to recur.

(C) The "tough" marxists. These are the opportunists. That does not mean that they do not believe in the party. They believe in it at least as much as any party politician anywhere. This type of man is a good bet. He has not enough theoretical integrity to be disturbed by the most wavering party line. He may last quite a long time. His chief danger comes from the other men of his own caliber, who are waiting to trip him at his first careless step, watching for him to falter over some detail, ready to jump into his place. The competitive system still holds and is guaranteed sooner or later to destroy a man by personal or ideological means. The average expectation of life of a party official is not long. There are no success stories in Sovietia save Molotoff's and, of course, Stalin's. The generations have passed away; there is no survival, not even of the toughest.

Preservation of the "Prols"

There is a third element the regime has to deal with: the party-less. They are everywhere the huge majority. This proportion is purposely preserved. Few people are encouraged to become party members. They might develop a dangerous tendency to initiative. As long as they are ready to believe what the party believes, as and when the party gets ready to believe it, these "without-party" men are treasured citizens.

(A) As the need arises suitable party members can be found and picked who are likelier to be innocent of deviations than those born in party-circles.

(B) These people are the "proletariat," whose future beatitude is the object of so much care; as a Soviet official once said, these are our hope." So education is lavished upon them: (1) by the school, (2) by the press and radio, (3) by the arts. All these means of education are constantly being re-examined, purged, re-educated. And (4) by fear. Penalties are kept before the mind in virulent diatribes against every type of saboteur, every kind of deviationist. Trials are frequently staged, with huge publicity, and the babbled confessions have a highly educational effect. Added to these the rumors of tortures and deportations which are kept in circulation induce almost a suspension of thought and personality. Error can alone be trusted perfectly to purify the mind.

(C) On another level the party-less are useful as an inexhaustible labor-pool which can be drawn upon without stint for state projects; this threat of possible transportation to inaccessible places where they may be kept for years is an effective means of coercion.

The upright citizen does not learn to stoop in a day or a year. If he is young he may perhaps be left unvexed for a time while education is tried on him. His masters do not always break him, they prefer to bend him slowly. A panorama of rushes bent beneath the breeze is more satisfying than a bunch of blasted oaks. Thus the person, by a process often so slow and subtle that it takes many years to subdue him as I have taken pages to describe it, becomes the tool of the state. After an infinite number of oscillations between hope and fear, after an unceasing debate between rectitude and the wily will to live a moment comes in the lives of most communists, of many of the party-less, and of almost every anti-communist, which they have each one all the time been dreadfully expecting—arrest and questioning. It is a routine much of the time, a mere routine to prevent thoughts from straying. The technique does not always demand torture of a bloody type. It is

nicely tempered to match the man's mettle. The object is to torment him into saying anything, not necessarily political information at all, just any nonsense; to make him concoct stories of infidelities on the part of his wife, naming her lovers, stories of his own obscenities, accusations of treason against his best friends. These obvious lies which the tormentors coldly persist in extracting, they do not believe any more than he does, and they would, if true, be of no earthly use to them except in their one aim. This aim is to destroy the last shreds of their victim's self-respect, for while it survives it is a potential obstacle, something unpredictable which might at some time prevent his full collaboration upon the mystic unity for which they strive. If the victim were left with some faint sense of his own decency he might balk at a future order, while now he feels so smeared, so fouled, so vile, that he can no longer lift a finger or know how to draw a line. By these persuasive dialectics of despair they who disbelieve in the spirit are determined to divest us of our souls before we die. Against this artificially induced abjection heroism is powerless, for there is always some newly studied depth of horror to send all heroisms grovelling. Most men tortured into betraying their friends, denying their faith, besmirching their families, cannot survive the strain of living with selves so alien to the habit of their mind. They cease to be persons and become empty automata abandoned even by despair. They had conceived of themselves as having certain elementary qualities which classed them as men. These are gone and *they are left with nothing*.

Power of Humility

The only safeguard is *to start with nothing*. Absolute humility is the only antidote to this poison of destruction. If a victim of these destroyers can remember throughout his ordeal and after it that he has no quality in his own right, that the elementary decencies he prized were the habits of a way of life and that he has nothing of his own, then he will not despair when all is torn away. If all his virtue is and was from God, then God can preserve it or restore it in His good time. This suggested salvation by humility is no shirking of human responsibility, for I speak only of those who break down, having been tortured extremely and with all the resources of a corrupted science. Though heroism is more accessible than humility, it is not enough now for men to be heroes. They must be saints or cease to be at all. The only answer to the fiendish pride of the "self-created" is the humility of the creature consciously dependent upon his Creator.

MARION MITCHELL STANCIOFF

BOOK REVIEWS

Rape of the Liberals

COMMUNISM, DEMOCRACY AND CATHOLIC POWER

By Paul Blanchard
Beacon Press, \$3.50

On the evening of May Day this year a mass rally was held at Carnegie Hall in New York, sponsored by an organization called "Protestants and Others for the Separation of Church

and State." Its purpose was to discuss the Catholic threat to democracy. The two major speakers were a Presbyterian minister named Poteat (a missionary to Latin America) and Paul Blanchard. I attended the meeting to see what was up.

Carnegie Hall was filled, except for the top gallery. The most surprising thing to me was the nature of the audience. Perhaps I had expected a section of the communist parade to come to Carnegie Hall to finish off the day. I looked for workers in their shirt sleeves, social workers from the New York School, long-haired intellectuals and labor organizers. I expected most of the audience to have arrived from Europe within the last generation or two, with visible and audible traces of the fact. Not at all. This assemblage was strictly 100% American in the most flattering sense: nice people, backbone of the nation, upper middle-class, professional, educated, respectable, sober, conscientious; not nouveau-riche, not radical, not vicious, not vulgar, but fair-minded, intelligent, good people, the graduates of America's best colleges.

Mr. Poteat and Mr. Blanchard said more or less what one would expect, only sometimes more suavely, sometimes more frankly. The content of their speeches did not interest me as much as the effect of their speeches on the audience. It soon became clear that all these people had gathered together for the first time in response to radiating postcards to friends of friends. They came to investigate, and with more or less open minds. I kept putting myself in their place (which was easy because I come from exactly the same background, was a non-Catholic, went to one of their colleges), struggling along with them to see if we could see through the speakers' arguments on their own face value. When the Popes were quoted in their encyclicals (out of context or in truncated form) there was a graciousness about the words of the Holy Fathers which could not be concealed. Did those people catch it? I do not know. But there were three moments when I thought the whole audience turned against the speakers, or at least stopped short in their thinking. Once was when Mr. Blanchard said angrily, "The trouble with the Catholic Church is that it thinks error has no rights against truth!" Did I imagine that all the examples of the "unreasonableness" and "unfairness" of the Church suddenly came into focus in their minds? The second time was propos of censorship, when one of the speakers (Blanchard, I think) made the mistake of saying, "And the Catholic Church has the nerve to say it is the only body fighting for public morality." A couple of things seemed to fall into focus there too. The last time was when Mr. Blanchard got talking about sex and mocking the idea of purity, especially the idea of the celibacy of the clergy. He lost his composure, became vehement and vulgar. He also lost his prestige with the audience.

The people who streamed out of Carnegie Hall later that evening were obviously not "sold," but I could not reassure myself that they had not taken the first step. "... but still you have to grant that it is an agent of a foreign power," I heard one of them remark, and I suppose that was the typical reaction. Like lambs being led to the slaughter, I thought. They are intelligent people who have already been robbed by the liberal colleges of intellectual competence except within narrow technical fields. They cannot hold out very long.

But what do Blanchard and these others want of them?

This problem has been revolving in my mind ever since. Blanchard's new book is evidently part of the same campaign and adds further evidence. Here is more or less the line of reasoning I have followed.

In that meeting at Carnegie Hall the obvious immediate purpose was to *confuse* the audience. The object was to make them anti-Catholic, but by confusing them, and not by leading them to some positive position other than Catholicism. That was what was so sad. There is no one easier to confuse than a liberal. The liberal erects indeterminate things into absolutes. Freedom becomes a state of suspended judgment forever. Horrible is the man who dares to believe that he's got hold of a piece of truth. He is thereby a bigot, a dogmatist, a totalitarian. The only nice people are intellectual jellyfish.

"Democracy" is a word I never want to hear again. As Mr. Blanchard uses it, it is usually synonymous with "the most high god," or "social perfection with divine attributes." As I walked home that night I said to myself, "As a Catholic I have the freedom to like monarchy as a form of government—a freedom which obviously is disappearing everywhere."

Well, that's the first point, the immediate object is to confuse. Why?

The second obvious thing is that the meeting at Carnegie Hall was like a textbook example of communist tactics. "Protestants and Others for the Separation of Church and State" sounds like a caricature of all communist-front organizations, and acts like it. Certainly the people on the platform did not seem to be believing Christians, even of a dilute sort, and I gathered that the audience did not believe much either (why should they, after graduating from Yale, Harvard, Vassar, etc.?). However the speakers were a little over-confident about the lack of religious sensibility on the part of the audience and made the mistake of mocking the "supposed virginity" of Our Lady. A man in the orchestra got up and furiously shouted that "the Protestants believe that too." My neighbors whispered, "A spy of Cardinal Spellman," but I think he was a believing Protestant.

I have finally reached this hypothesis. The communists are desperately trying to prevent any collaboration of the United States and the Catholic Church against communism. Maybe their main objective is to cut off the Church in Europe and the Far East from American support, the better to destroy Her. Maybe their objective is to make America atheist and communist from within and they want to discredit the American Catholic Church, the main obstacle to this accomplishment. Maybe they are as interested in one objective as the other. The reason they are going after the 100% American liberals is that this body stands in their way. They do not hope to convert them to communism (the communists

ave their own intellectual converts in the colleges) because they are, as body, too decent and respectable. When communism takes over, these people will all be liquidated. What they want to do meanwhile is to turn them against the only strong moral and anti-secular ally they have.

My analysis may not be correct, but it satisfies me as a continuing explanation of what I see going on. I find it possible to hold this hypothesis even in the face of Mr. Blanchard's latest book in which he uses the American hatred of communism to incite Americans to hatred of Catholicism, which he says is the same thing.

In *Communism, Democracy and Catholic Power*, Mr. Blanchard is playing two ends against the middle. He has discovered that certain things have a parallel relationship, and other things have contrasting relationships—only he blurs the parallels into identity most of the time. Let us take a few abstract examples to show how he reasons. Marriage and concubinage are alike under one aspect; marriage and friendship are contrasting under the same aspect; therefore friendship is different from marriage but concubinage is the same thing as marriage. Or again, monarchy and dictatorship are both rule by one man, who is not elected by the people, contrasted with democracy where the rule is divided among many men elected by the people; therefore the Pope and Stalin and Mussolini and Hitler are all alike and all nefarious. (The reader can see that this is not only crooked reasoning, but that I have skipped a number of steps—like Mr. Blanchard.)

Communism and Catholicism are alike (according to Blanchard) because they both are totalitarian. They both are world-wide organizations with an intricate structure. They both have agents and sub-agents in all countries. They both "deify" their rulers, and in similar ways (here Mr. Blanchard goes into all the Vatican ceremonies—I would have thought a more obvious parallel could be drawn between Presidents of the United States, with their armed body-guards, and Hitler, Mussolini and Stalin with theirs, as contrasted with the Pope who goes unarmed among the people). They both engage in "thought control," putting their followers in intellectual strait-jackets. Both their organizations have strict discipline. Both manipulate the truth, both have a strategy of penetration of the whole world. The American answer is to fight against totalitarianism in all its forms, etc.

I find it impossible to believe that Mr. Blanchard has good will. His book is filled with distortions, evasions, crooked reasoning, emotionalism, calumny and vilification.

His greatest weapon is in the misuse of words, which makes quite an interesting study. In his Carnegie Hall address (where he was more frank than in his book) he kept calling the Pope's decrees and power "arbitrary," quite gratuitously. In the book I was amused to find the following about the Kremlin: "What kind of power structure has come out of this unique social revolution? On the whole it is tyrannical and cruel, but it is also *fluid and adaptable*." "*Fluid and adaptable*" is a synonym for "arbitrary" when used in connection with one's friends.

Is Mr. Blanchard a communist or a conscious collaborator of the communists? I do not know, and I cannot tell from his book. Superficially it seems that he is not, since much of this book is devoted to an expose (on the whole without qualification) of the communists. He does

a thorough, seemingly enthusiastic job of it, not revealing anything that is not generally known however. Yet a communist could write against communism if it served his purpose, so this is no guarantee that Mr. Blanchard is an enemy of the Soviet. Still, I did not have the impression that he is a believer in communism.

On the other hand most of the communist social doctrines are favored in the book one way or another. The sacred doctrine of self-determination is brought up in exactly the same way I heard it used by the Soviet puppets on the U.N. in their speeches. The passion for "leveling" society crops up now and again. In the last chapter there is a sort of special plea to Americans to concede to socialism as an expedient measure. And larded through the book, without direct advertence, is the accusation against the Church that it is "unscientific," which is a major communist point of attack at the moment. Miracles are "unscientific." The doctrine of the Assumption and the manner of arriving at it are "unscientific." The Church's objection to contraception is "unscientific," etc.

One cannot help asking, What does Mr. Blanchard believe? Certainly not in democracy—at least not in any recognizable form. He is an atheist. He hates and does not understand anything supernatural. He disbelieves, apriori, in miracles. He believes that there is no "moral" province which belongs to religion. He believes in the absolute subordination of church to state. He believes all children should be forced to attend secular, state schools and the parochial school system should be forbidden (this came out more clearly in his speech than in his book). He believes in divorce, and that the Church should have no jurisdiction over marriage. He wants no moral regulation of sexual conduct. He wants the medical profession to be freed from any moral concepts.

Mr. Blanchard is not stupid, so it is hard to believe that he is playing into the hands of the communists inadvertently. On the other hand I am sure that if he is supporting them they will liquidate him for his trouble. He is not very discreet. It was when he discussed sex at Carnegie Hall that he seemed most himself; he was vulgar; he made some crude and rather indecent remarks. Yet he did not seem like a man who had a weakness for sensuality. I got the impression of cold, intellectual hatred for purity and morality. Frankly, I was rather terrified by Mr. Blanchard.

CAROL JACKSON

The Wandering Modern Jew

THE PILLAR OF FIRE
By Karl Stern
Harcourt Brace, \$3.50

The story of one's conversion is at once an act of gratitude to God and a return of His love through the neighbor. The first is a mysterious communion between the soul and its Creator, and it is better not to try to express it. Karl Stern himself wisely avoids that phase of his conversion. He even quotes Saint Therese of Lisieux: "Some things lose their fragrance when exposed to the air; and some thoughts, when translated into language, are thereby

bed of their deep heavenly meaning." And yet this book does communicate a deep and delicate love of God, a gratitude which expresses itself in a wonderful reverence for the persons the author has met on his way. There is a certain intuition of the special goodness of each one, though he had discerned by some extraordinary understanding the regular purpose of God in every soul he encountered. You feel too that it was this beautiful openness to the perfection of God's creatures which brought Dr. Stern himself to God.

This was the love of the neighbor which brought him to his conversion. But there is, further, a particularly tragic love of the neighbor to be found in this book, a love for the Jews (Dr. Stern himself is Jewish), a love which evokes the heart-rending words of Our Lord weeping: "Jerusalem, Jerusalem . . . how often would I have gathered thy children, as a hen doth gather her chickens under her wings, and thou wouldst not." In fact the whole story of Dr. Stern's life is the story of the contemporary Jew. That story, in its essence, is expressed (amazingly enough) out of the mouth of a young Nazi, a fellow-worker at the psychiatric institute where Dr. Stern was stationed during the early Nazi regime. I am sure that these words contain in germ everything Dr. Stern wanted to say, as a German, a psychiatrist and a Jew who has found Christ. In fact I suspect there are many truths latent in this extraordinary utterance which the author would have liked to say, but which he thought might be misunderstood. Here is the passage:

The few Nazi guest workers in the Institute behaved as if they found themselves in enemy territory. Even those who did talk Nazism, somehow seemed to fail to fit into a recognized pattern. I remember a biochemist, a blond and somewhat anemic youth with an open candid look, who at the dinner table expounded to me the neo-pagan Germanic Religion.

"I used to be terribly anti-semitic, you know, until I came to study the writings of Doctor Hauer. Then I found out that what we hate in the Jews is not the Jews. It is Christ and the Christian religion. This religion is something so utterly alien to the very spirit of the European peoples that they revolt with their entire being against it. But although they feel a revulsion they are not aware of its true origin. Hence that irrational hatred of the Jews, because people vaguely feel that it is actually a Jewish way of feeling, thinking, acting, a Jewish norm of living that has been stuffed down their throat for the past two thousand years. Once you have found out that it is actually Christianity which is the painful foreign body in our flesh, something curious happens, you stop hating the Jews. You regard them with the same kind of sympathy or antipathy as you might regard another foreign nation."

I asked him in what way the Christian, or rather Hebrew-Christian, way of thinking was so alien and indigestible for the Northern European nations. He replied that the moral teaching of the Bible imbued the people with a disastrous sense of

anxiety and guilt. "The New Testament claims to have done away with fear, but it builds up a sense of fear even more dramatically than the Old Testament. It's only a continuation of the same thing. . . . There has been one revolt against the shackles of an alien thought—that was Luther. But with Luther it was still unconscious—Luther did not realize himself that what he was actually fighting was not Rome; it was an element that had arisen long before the Catholic Church and far away from Rome, some kind of desert mentality which was grafted upon the mind of the Aryan peoples and had thwarted and dwarfed it. Thus Luther made the mistake of reviving instead of abolishing that spirit, although the unconscious root of the Lutheran rebellion lay actually in the depth of the Aryan mind." Hitler was even worse, he said, for Hitler deflected the anti-Christian forces into vulgar Jew-baiting, and by doing so removed, perhaps forever, the chance of the revival of a truly Indo-Germanic spirit in Europe. . . .

The reader must realize that this was a clean-looking, sympathetic young man, and no Nazi ogre. On the contrary, he was the sort of young idealist who might easily have landed in an actively anti-Nazi camp, and perished there. I have lost track of him, in fact I have forgotten his name. The point is that he expressed something, under the quaint make-up of a Teutonic *weltanschauung*, which, under varying disguises, many people say today in many places of the world. Moreover, he expressed quite clearly what I believe now to be the true background of the entire Nazi revolution.

This is what I think the passage means. The Germans suffered terrible defeat and humiliation because they had become softened by the doctrine of Christ. Versailles was, so to speak, a traumatic experience for the German nation. The young German, striving to get away from the terrible burden of guilt, respects Christ's doctrine of meekness in suffering together with the Commandments. He does this because he no longer is able to see the mercy of God in the Blood of Christ. Because Christianity means justice without mercy, he rejects it, identifying it with the Jewish way of life (in the measure that the Jew too has rejected Christ, he is right). The "Indo-Germanic spirit" is only a myth. What it wants to express is the joy and peace which comes with freedom from guilt with the interior peace of a good conscience. Since the real problem, in the young Nazi's mind, is Christianity as it had been accepted by the German people, it is absurd to persecute the Jews. What must be done is to get rid of the Jewish spirit, i.e., Christianity, in ourselves.

As Dr. Stern sagely remarks, "he expressed something, under the quaint make-up of a Teutonic *weltanschauung*, which, under varying disguises, many people say today in many places of the world." The psychiatrist realizes that the guilt-ridden conscience is the potential murderer. Seen in this light the mass murdering of Jews is the killing of Christ. It is not without mystical significance, to my mind, that the Jews figure so large in these phenomena. It is as though God were showing, through

se persecutions, that the gentiles who despised the chosen people are now betraying the same murderous impulses which crucified Christ, are in fact crucifying Him in His people. The Jews themselves do not know but we Christians should.

But what is the positive, practical resolution of all this? Certainly it is not to condemn the Germans, nor to anticipate similar atrocities from those who were so shocked by what the Germans did. There is in fact only one solution: Christianity is a faith of joy, and it can only conquer the faith of joy; otherwise caricatures of it will only engender neurosis and hatred. But the joy of Christianity is in the loving of God without measure. I quote Saint Thomas Aquinas (*italics mine*):

Primarily and essentially the perfection of Christian life consists in charity, principally as to the love of God, secondarily as to the love of our neighbor, both of which are the matter of the chief commandments of the divine law, as stated above. *Now the love of God and of our neighbor is not commanded according to a measure, so that what is in excess of the measure be a matter of counsel.* This is evident from the very form of the commandment, pointing, as it does, to perfection—for instance in the words, *Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with thy whole heart*: since the whole is the same as the perfect . . . and in the words, *Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself*, since everyone loves himself most. The reason of this is that the end of the commandment is charity, according to the Apostle (1 Tim. i. 5); and the end is not subject to a measure, but only such things as are directed to the end . . . thus a physician does not measure the amount of his healing, but how much medicine or diet he shall employ for the purpose of healing. (*Sum. Theol.* II-IIae, q. 184, a. 3.)

This perfection in the loving of God without limit is in the teaching of Saint Thomas, and of the Church, binding under pain of mortal sin. It is a doctrine so little known among Christians, even Catholics, that we have lost the joy of a clean conscience. We may hope that our ignorance will be forgiveness, as we may hope that for all neurotics. But our anxiety continues to grow nonetheless, and the Christianity which gives pure joy becomes more and more an insufferable burden, for us as it is for the Nazis. That is why, at bottom, we need all the systematic distraction provided by the automobile, the theatre, and the other fine things, by radio and television. It alone explains the development of psychosis. When we are loving God as we should, we are not satisfied with our love. Peace, the peace of the way, is the dynamic equilibrium of a soul tending to God. Such a soul is profoundly aware of all the impediments it has set up between itself and God, and it seeks, therefore, to love God in the neighbor by way of restitution for the not-loving of God in itself. In principle and its logical reduction, therefore, the neighbor must be seen either as an object of love since he is an instrument for loving God ("for as much as you have done it to the least of my little ones, you have done it unto me") or as an object of hatred. We who

have forgotten to love God in this way are, all of us, potential monsters capable of doing all that the Nazis did, and worse. And in the mystery of divine providence the Jew still serves as the victim in the rationalization of hatred, a victim innocent in Christ if not in himself.

All of this recalls the conversation between Cain and God after Cain had slain Abel:

And Cain said to the Lord: My iniquity is greater than that I may deserve pardon. Behold thou dost cast me out this day from the face of the earth, and I shall be hidden from thy face, and I shall be a vagabond and a fugitive on the earth: everyone, therefore, that findeth me, shall kill me. And the Lord said to him: No, it shall not be so: but whosoever shall kill Cain, shall be punished sevenfold. And the Lord set a mark upon Cain, that whosoever found him should not kill him. (Genesis: 4, 13-15.)

Certainly Cain is the figure of the Jews who slew Christ, as Abel whose sacrifice was acceptable to the Lord, prefigured Christ. The Jews still suffer persecution from Christians who hate Christ but who, in their duplicity, are blind to their hatred of Christ. This history is the continuation of sacred Scripture; it can only be discerned by the eye of faith.

These are some of the thoughts that overwhelm one in the reading of Dr. Stern's book. They seem to be the inevitable truths to be discovered by a Jew, a psychiatrist, one who has suffered under Nazi persecution and who has found Christ.

HERBERT THOMAS SCHWARTZ

Dramatic Study in Spirituality

THE SONG AT THE SCAFFOLD
By Gertrud von Le Fort
Sheed and Ward, \$2.25

This is a short novel based on a real incident which occurred during the French Revolution. A house of women Carmelites

near Paris fell into the hands of the Revolutionary forces and all the nuns were taken to the guillotine—except one who had previously fled from the convent out of terror, and another. The runaway reappeared at the last moment to share her sisters' martyrdom.

Gertrud von Le Fort has undertaken, while telling the story in a direct way (as though related to her by the one who survived), to explain the psychological and spiritual reasons for the defection through fear and the sudden surge of final courage. Those who have read her other books know that she is a master of such profundities.

The story is gripping, and spiritually very moving.

CAROL JACKSON

Saintly Women

SURRENDER TO THE SPIRIT

By Mother Eileen Surles, R.C.

Kenedy, \$3.00

THE TRIUMPH OF TRUST

By Mother Mary Eleanor, S.H.C.J.

Reilly, \$2.50

These two books are the life stories of two apostolic women of the nineteenth century. *Surrender to the Spirit* tells of the beginnings of what we know today as the Cenacle Retreat Houses. Retreats for lay people

were once a rarity but that there was a need for them, especially in France where the French Revolution had robbed and weakened the faith of thousands of Catholics, is shown in the way God used Marie-Victoire Couderc to found a congregation that was radical for its times. Suffering and misunderstanding were the lot of Mother Couderc. Hardly had the congregation been formed when she lost through death the priest who had been her counsellor and guide, whom she called the "real founder" of the congregation. When her little community began to flourish she was deposed from her position as Superior (after all, she was only a French peasant) and for years remained hidden, unnoticed. It was with reluctance that she took on any governmental position in her later years, and only temporarily. When she died at the age of eighty she was much beloved by her community, which recognized her as a saint. Heroic charity, humility and patience were her outstanding virtues. She had offered herself as a victim soul to Christ in a spirit of reparation—especially for the sins of her beloved France—and in the last sixteen years of her life she suffered the agony of Christ at Gethsemane. Miraculous happenings after her death resulted in the opening of her grave where her body was found intact. Her beatification will take place in Rome on October 28, 1951.

The Triumph of Trust describes the life of Mother Connolly, founder of the Society of the Holy Child Jesus. It is the extraordinary story of a young American wife and mother who came into the Church with her young husband, a Protestant minister; of their separation, he to enter the priesthood, she to enter the convent. While still a novice in the Sacred Heart Convent in France she was summoned by Pope Gregory who instructed her to found her own community in England and open Catholic schools for young girls. Not only did she experience much hardship in the beginning of her community but she endured the heart-break of her former husband's attempt to force her return to him after he had abandoned his priesthood. She lived to see her society open schools in America and France. Although this book was written for younger readers it is not limited necessarily to any age group.

DOREEN O'SULLIVAN

NOTICE TO SUBSCRIBERS: If you are going away for the summer, please send us your change of address, giving us both the old and the new.

OUR WRITERS

DR. CHARLES DE KONINCK is head of the Philosophy Department at Laval University; he is a member of the Royal Society of Canada and of the Canadian Society for Marian Studies. JEREM O'SULLIVAN-BARR has been in Europe before, during and after the war, and is especially interested in social problems. MARION MITCHELL STANCIOFF lived in several European and Eastern European countries when the communists were maneuvering to take over. HERBERT SCHWARTZ, a Jewish convert, teaches at Xavier University in Cincinnati.

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"Where Can I Buy INTEGRITY?"

This is a question frequently asked, therefore we are listing below the names of *some* stores in *some* cities where INTEGRITY is sold. Limited space permits the listing of only a few churches and schools.

California: The St. Christopher Shop, Los Angeles; Whalen Church Goods, Los Angeles; St. Charles Library, North Hollywood; Flaherty's, San Diego; O'Connor's Church Goods, San Diego; Junipero Serra Shop, San Francisco; Paulist Circulating Library, San Francisco; Memorare Guild, Santa Ana.

Colorado: E. G. Kennebeck's Denver.

Connecticut: Catholic Library, Hartford; St. Thomas More Gift Shop, New Haven; Stamford Catholic Library, Stamford.

Washington, D.C.: William J. Gallery & Co., The Newman Bookshop, St. Peter Claver Center.

Illinois: St. Gregory Library & Bookshop, Aurora; Friendship House, Chicago; St. Joseph's Religious Goods, Chicago; The Thomas More Bookshop, Chicago; Templegate, Springfield; St. Winifred Catholic Bookshop, Waukegon.

Iowa: Catholic Supply Center, Davenport.

Kentucky: Catholic Information Center, Louisville.

Maine: Queen of Peace Catholic Lending Library, Portland.

Massachusetts: Boston College Bookstores, Boston and Chestnut Hill; Integrity Headquarters, Boston; Matthew F. Sheehan Co., Boston; Pius XI Book Shop, Boston; St. Columbkille's, Brighton; St. Paul's Book Rack, Cambridge; The Card Shop, Fall River; Mission Church, Roxbury; Holy Family Book Shop, Springfield.

Michigan: Madonna Bookshop, Detroit; Van Antwerp Circulating Library; Detroit; Catholic Information Center, Grand Rapids.

Minnesota: Catholic Youth Center, Minneapolis; Saint Cloud Bookshop, Saint Cloud; Catholic Youth Center, St. Paul.

Missouri: Catholic Community Library & Bookshop, Kansas City.

New York: The Ave Maria Shop, Brooklyn; Monica House, Brooklyn; Blessed Sacrament Church, Jackson Heights; Walsh Brothers, Jamaica; St. Joseph's, Long Island City; Blessed Sacrament Library & Bookshop, New Rochelle; St. Catherine's, Pelham; St. Mary's Church, Poughkeepsie; St. Ann's, Rochester; Our Lady of Mount Carmel Church, Schenectady; Religious Art & Bookshop, White Plains.

New York City: Auers, The Catholic Book Service, Engel & Sharkey, Friendship House, Murray Hill Bookshop, St. Francis of Assisi, Our Lady of Victory.

Ohio: Catholic Information Center, Cincinnati; Catholic Book Store, Cleveland; Rosary Cathedral, Toledo.

Pennsylvania: St. Patrick's Cathedral, Harrisburg; Catholic Information Bureau, Philadelphia; Catholic Cultural Center, Pittsburgh; Diocesan Guild Studios, Scranton; Diocesan Guild Studios, Wilkes-Barre.

Rhode Island: St. Augustine Book Shop, Pawtucket; Marion Book Shop, Providence.

Tennessee: Cathedral of the Incarnation, Nashville.

Virginia: Campbell Religious Goods Shop, Richmond.

Washington: The Guild Book Shop, Seattle; The Kaufer Co., Seattle, Spokane and Tacoma.

West Virginia: H. D. Corcoran Co., Wheeling.

Wisconsin: St. Francis Store, Appleton; M. H. Binzel's, Marshfield; Broadway Church Goods, Milwaukee; Cardijn Co-Op Book Store, Milwaukee; St. Norbert College Book Store, West De Pere.

If any of our readers can help us obtain additional outlets, we'd be happy to hear from them.



On 34th Street

INTEGRITY may be purchased any clear Thursday evening outside Macy's Department Store—near the BMT subway, Nedick's, or under the street lamp on 34th Street between Broadway and Seventh Avenue. Now Macy's can truly say "it has everything"!

I am one of a small group of volunteers (young men and women) who decided that the best way we personally could spread INTEGRITY was through an apostolate of "street selling," taking example from the Jehovah Witnesses and other groups. If someone had told me a year ago that I would be standing on a public street "hawking," as they say, "Read INTEGRITY, a Catholic Monthly," I would have replied, "Me! NEVER!"

We started last December, shortly before Christmas. The first night was the hardest of course. Our knees shook and the magazines trembled in our hands. I had the utmost difficulty in finding my voice, but I discovered it when I heard one of my co-volunteers hesitantly shouting, "Read INTEGRITY." I learned later that the newsdealer nearby encouraged her with the words, "Lady, if ya wanna sell, ya gotta YELL." We have been yelling ever since.

The immediate results were most encouraging. We had customers—many of them. Now we usually sell between 75 and 100 among five of us in an hour and a half. One night we sold 119 copies. I would say that we have reached well over a thousand people in the short time we have been out "street selling." Comments have been most encouraging... "It's good to see you here" or "It's about time we Catholics stopped apologizing for our faith and started shouting about it" and "Keep up the good work—I'll be praying for you." We've made many new friends, edified some people and scandalized a few... one young man commented that "it isn't respectable" and a woman remarked that she didn't like "this razzle-dazzle Catholicism."

We begin our evening's apostolate with a prayer to the Holy Ghost. The results of our work are not too obvious, but if we are Christ's instruments for sowing, the fruition is up to Him. We hope and pray that there will soon be other groups throughout the country doing the same thing... it's fun too!

With summer weather ahead we are planning to form other groups to "street sell" on other evenings and Saturdays in metropolitan New York. If any readers would like to participate, we'd be happy to hear from them... Just send me a postcard, c/o INTEGRITY, 243 East 36th Street, New York 16.

MARY CHRISTENSEN